

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W

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O 200035Z FEB 76

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 04063

EXDIS

FOR EAGLEBURGER AND LORD ONLY FROM HILL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: MATERIAL FOR SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE HAYS AND SLACK
COMMITTEES

SECRETARY HAS NOT SEEN FOLLOWING DRAFT. BEGIN TEXT:

1. MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU AS YOU CONSIDER THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATE'S REQUEST FOR AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS. I
WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE DESIGN OF
OUR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY.

2. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM LATIN AMERICA. MY TRIP REVEALED
MORE CLEARLY THE SHAPE OF THE TASK WHICH CONFRONTS THE INTERNA-
TIONAL COMMUNITY: AN AGE OF INTERDEPENDENCE PRESENTS GRAVE
PROBLEMS BUT THERE ARE VAST AND HOPEFUL OPPORTUNITIES AS WELL.
OUR TRADITIONAL BILATERAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATION-
SHIPS REMAIN A PRECIOUS ADVANTAGE; WE MUST BUILD UPON THEM. BUT
NO SINGLE PERCEPTION, NO SLOGAN OR FAMILIAR GENERAL FORMULA
IS OF USE. WE NOW MUST GO BEYOND THESE TO DEAL WITH A GREATER
COMPLEXITY--TO DISCOVER WHERE THE VARIED CONCERNS OF NATIONS
OVERLAP, TO DEFINE AND CONSULT ON OUR DIFFERENCES, AND TO MOVE
FORWARD COOPERATIVELY AND CONCRETELY.

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3. AMERICA ENTERS ITS THIRD CENTURY AT A TIME OF GREAT INTERNA-

TIONAL UNCERTAINTY AND COMPLEXITY. THE APPROACH WHICH OUR COUNTRY TAKES NOW, AND OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, WILL HAVE AN IMMENSE INFLUENCE IN DETERMINING WHAT KIND OF FUTURE THIS PLANET WILL HAVE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

4. OUR ROLE IS CENTRAL. WE HAVE UNMATCHED PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH. WE HAVE A SOUND FOREIGN POLICY DESIGN. WE HAVE THE WORLD'S GREATEST RESERVOIR OF TECHNICAL, MANAGERIAL AND CREATIVE TALENT. WE REMAIN THE SYMBOL OF HOPE TO MILLIONS AROUND THE GLOBE WHO YEARN FOR PEACE, JUSTICE, AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE EXPERIENCED A TIME OF DEEP NATIONAL SELF-DOUBT AND SELF-ACCUSATION CREATED BY A DECADE AND A HALF OF DOMESTIC DISSARRAY AND GLOBAL OVEREXTENSION. YET WE HAVE EMERGED WITH GREATER WISDOM AND A NEW SENSE OF THE RESILIENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS. WE CAN NO LONGER OVERWHELM PROBLEMS WITH OUR STRENGTH, RESOURCES, OR INFLUENCES; WE NEITHER CAN, NOR SHOULD, SEEK TO IMPOSE SOLUTIONS TO THE GLOBAL ISSUES BEFORE US. BUT, EQUALLY, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT NO SOLUTIONS ARE POSSIBLE WITHOUT US. STABILITY, PROGRESS, FREEDOM ALL STILL REQUIRE AMERICA'S RESPONSIBLE AND STEADY EFFORTS IN THE WORLD.

5. WHAT IS OUR CHALLENGE, AND WHAT ARE OUR OBJECTIVES? THE RIGID INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POST WAR DECADES HAS DISINTEGRATED. A NEW ORDER HAS NOT YET BEEN BUILT TO REPLACE IT. NEW FORCES FOR CHANGE HAVE BEEN UNLEASHED THAT WE MUST MASTER OR RISK PLACING OUR NATION AND CIVILIZATION ITSELF IN JEOPARDY.

--AMERICA'S NUCLEAR PREPONDERANCE HAS ENDED: BOTH SUPERPOWERS HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DEVASTATE OUR PLANET IN A MATTER OF NOT MERELY DAYS, BUT HOURS.

-- THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES HAVE REGAINED THEIR STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE; OUR ALLIANCES NOW CALL FOR COOPERATIVE ENDEAVORS ON THE BASIS OF SHARED BURDENS AND SHARED INITIATIVE.

--NEW FORMS OF ECONOMIC POWER HAVE SPREAD IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE GLOBE. THE EMERGING NATIONS SEEK A GREATER ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND AN EQUITABLE SHARE IN THE WORLD'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRODUCT.

--A NEW RANGE OF ISSUES--FOOD, POPULATION, THE ENVIRONMENT, THE USES OF THE OCEANS--CALL FOR URGENT INTERNATIONAL ACTION IF OUR PLANET IS TO SUSTAIN THE LIVES OF OUR CHILDREN.

6. THE CHALLENGE OF OUR PREDECESSORS WAS TO FASHION STABILITY FROM CHAOS. THE CHALLENGE OF OUR GENERATION IS TO MOVE FROM

THE BUILDING OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO THE BUILDING OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH OFFERS A HOPE OF PEACE, PROGRESS, WELLBEING AND FREEDOM FOR THE REST OF THIS CENTURY AND BEYOND.

7. THUS, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF PERMANENTLY AND IRREVOCABLY INVOLVED IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE CATASTROPHIC THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR IMPOSES ON US A NECESSITY THAT GOES BEYOND TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF DIPLOMACY AND BALANCE OF POWER--TO HELP CONSTRUCT A WORLD ORDER THAT FINDS STABILITY IN SELF-RESTRAINT AND, ULTIMATELY, IN GLOBAL COOPERATION. WE MUST MAINTAIN SECURITY AND THE BALANCE OF POWER AND RESOLVE POLITICAL CONFLICTS BY TRADITIONAL MEANS. BUT WE MUST ALSO STRIVE TO FASHION OUT OF A WORLD OF 150 NATIONS A NEW AND MORE POSITIVE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT.

8. WE KNOW THAT NUCLEAR WAR COULD DESTROY CIVILIZATION. THE SUSPICION AND RIVALRY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST OVER TWO GENERATIONS WILL NOT SOON BE SWEEPED AWAY; REAL MORAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES PERSIST. BUT WE ARE COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING GLOBAL STABILITY THROUGH STRENGTH, WHILE SEEKING WHERE POSSIBLE TO ENGAGE THE COMMUNIST POWERS IN MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS, ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, TO DEEPEN THE MUTUAL STAKE IN PEACE.

9. THE HEART OF THIS PROCESS IS THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INTERCONTINENTAL DELIVERY SYSTEMS. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION REACHED AN AGREEMENT IN 1972 TO FREEZE THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY SYSTEMS FOR A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, AND WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A MORE COMPREHENSIVE AND LONG-TERM AGREEMENT PLACING FIRM EQUAL CEILINGS ON THE STRATEGIC ARSENALS OF BOTH SIDES. THE AVOIDANCE OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE CONTAINMENT OF THE STRATEGIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARMS RACE ARE THE MORAL AND PRACTICAL NECESSITY OF THIS AGE; IF WE FAIL, NOTHING ELSE WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE CAN HAVE MEANING.

10. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE ALSO SOUGHT TO CREATE A NETWORK OF COOPERATIVE, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE DO THIS TO STRENGTHEN THE INCENTIVES FOR COOPERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF LESSENER TENSIONS.

11. IF WE ARE TO HAVE PEACE, WE INEVITABLY MUST BE CONCERNED AT THE BROAD IMPLICATIONS AND IMMINENT DANGERS OF CRISES AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN MANY REGIONS OF THE GLOBE. CONTINUED INSTABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, FOR EXAMPLE, STRAINS VITAL FRIENDSHIPS AND ALLIANCES, THREATENS SEVERE WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC DISLOCATION, AND POSES A CONTINUING RISK OF DIRECT

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE WORLD'S TWO NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS. THEREFORE, WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OUR ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC ROLE TO HELP BRING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN BERLIN, IN CYPRUS, IN MANY AREAS OF THE WORLD, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN DEDICATED TO PROMOTING POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS OF LOCAL CONFLICTS, IN THE INTERESTS OF GLOBAL PEACE.

12. SIMILARLY, WE MUST RECOGNIZE AND OPPOSE ATTEMPTS TO UPSET THE BALANCE OF GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM AND ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT TURBULENT LOCAL SITUATIONS FOR UNILATERAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY ADVANTAGE--AS WE NOW SEE IN ANGOLA. ONLY IF WE AND OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD CONCERT AGAINST SUCH ACTIONS WHICH JEOPARDIZE WORLD PEACE IS THERE ANY REALISTIC HOPE FOR A WORLD OF SAFETY AND STABILITY. IN TODAY'S WORLD, PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE AND IT IS GLOBAL; THE BREAKDOWN OF PEACE IN ONE PART OF THE GLOBE ULTIMATELY TOUCHES EVERY OTHER.

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ACTION SS-25

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O 200035Z FEB 76

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SECTO 4063

EXDIS

FOR EAGLEBURGER AND LORD ONLY FROM HILL

13. TRUE PROGRESS REQUIRES MORE THAN SECURITY. WE MUST SEEK TO BREAK PAST PATTERNS OF CONFRONTATION AND RESPONSE. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE FOR AMERICA OR ANY OTHER NATION TO ACHIEVE ITS PURPOSES BY PHYSICAL POWWER ALONE; IN TODAY'S WORLD INFLUENCE DERIVES NOT ONLY FROM MILITARY STRENGTH BUT ALSO FROM ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL FACTORS, FROM THE ABILITY TO INSPIRE OTHER NATIONS WITH THE CONVICTION THAT THEY HAVE A STAKE IN A SHARED FUTURE.

14. WE CAN APPROACH THESE NEW CHALLENGES WITH CONFIDENCE. OUR TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, OUR MANAGERIAL GENIUS, OUR ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND MEDICINE, THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR FARMS AND INDUSTRIES, OUR PHYSICAL RESOURCES, OUR COMMITMENT TO THE RULE OF LAW--INSURE FOR US A ROLE OF LEADERSHIP. AND WE HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING THE RESILIENCY OF OUR ECONOMY BY EMERGING FROM A GLOBAL RECESSION FASTER AND MORE STEADILY THAN ANY OTHER NATION.

15. FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR WELL-BEING IS INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, AMERICANS HAVE SEEN CLEARLY JUST HOW MUCH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS DETERMINE THE PROGRESS OF ALL NATIONS INCLUDING OUR OWN. THE OIL EMBARGO OF 1973 AND THE SUBSEQUENT PRICE INCREASES WITH THEIR DEVASTATING GLOBAL CONSEQUENCES HAVE REMINDED US TO WHAT EXTENT FAR OFF EVENTS AFFECT OUR PROSPERITY AND HOW IMPORTANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS FOR OUR OWN WELL-BEING AND FOR THE PROSPERITY OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

16. THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN FAR-REACHING STEPS TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION:
--WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES ON TRADE, ENERGY, AND MONETARY REFORM.
--WE HAVE ORGANIZED A COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM TO EXPAND FOOD PRODUCTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND TO CHANNEL RESOURCES--INCLUDING THE NEW WEALTH OF THE OIL PRODUCERS--INTO IMPROVING THE FINANCING, PRODUCTION, 594-&3, AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD.
--WE HAVE DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED A STRATEGY TO END OUR DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ENERGY VULNERABILITY. WE HAVE JOINTED WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIAL CONSUMING COUNTRIES IN SOLIDARITY PROGRAMS TO PROTECT US AGAINST FURTHER OIL EMBARGOES AND AGAINST DESTABILIZING MOVEMENTS OF ASSETS HELD BY OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES. WE HAVE BEGUN COOPERATIVE ACTION ON RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SUPPLIES.
--AND THE UNITED STATES HAS PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPECIAL SESSION A COMPREHENSIVE AND PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR A MULTILATERAL EFFORT TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

17. THUS WE HAVE NOT ONLY TACKLED THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES OF PEACE AND WAR BUT MADE A GOOD BEGINNING IN HELPING TO FASHION MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS IN NEW DIMENSIONS OF WORLD CONCERN.

18. OUR ASSETS ARE VAST. OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL; WE CAN BUILD UPON ITS STRUCTURE.

19. TO DO SO, WE MUST HAVE A FIRM FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL STRENGTH--MILITARY AND ECONOMIC. WE CAN NEVER ENTRUST OUR NATIONS FUTURE TO THE MERCIES OF OTHERS--ESPECIALLY WHEN POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES ARE ALL TOO DESIROUS OF USING THEIR STRENGTH AS A MEANS--DIRECTLY AND THROUGH PRESSURES AND THREATS--TO SHAPE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE WORLD.

20. AND WE MUST CONCERT WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, WHO SHARE OUR VALUES AND GOALS. ALLIED UNITY IS INDISPENSABLE TO MAINTAINING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER WITHOUT WHICH PROSPECTS FOR PEACE WILL QUICKLY ERODE. THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES OF THE WEST HAS BEEN THE ENGINE OF GLOBAL PROSPERITY THROUGHOUT THE MODERN AGE AND REMAINS SO--AS THE EMERGING NATIONS TELL US BY DIRECTING THEIR CLAIMS TO US RATHER THAN TO THE COMMUNIST NATIONS.

21. MOST URGENTLY AND IMPERATIVELY, WE MUST PROCEED FROM THE BASIS OF DOMESTIC UNITY. ONLY WHEN OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN CONDUCTED AS A NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THEIR CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE HAVE WE BEEN TRULY SUCCESSFUL. TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, TO BE EFFECTIVE WE MUST SPEAK WITH THE ASSURANCE OF ONE VOICE AND WITH THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE CONTINUATION OF LEAKS, SENSATIONAL INVESTIGATIONS, AND THE DEMORALIZATION OF OUR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES WILL ONLY PROGRESSIVELY DEPRIVE OUR GOVERNMENT OF THE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO WORLD EVENTS, AND THEREBY TO SHAPE OUR OWN DESTINY.

22. OUR INTERNATIONAL ROLE IS NOT A BURDEN; IT PROTECTS THE LIVES AND WELL-BEING OF OUR CITIZENS. IT HAS BEEN A HISTORICAL SUCCESS. WITH RESPONSIBILITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT WE CAN TURN OUR ACHIEVEMENTS INTO THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND JUSTICE.
KISSINGER

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